JUNE 23, 1917

The Woman Citizen

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FOUNDED 1870

Official Organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association

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The Woman With a Country

With Apologies to the Author of "The Man Without a Country"

By Helen Rowland

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ALWAYS,
They have said of her,
"Why shall she vote?
"In time of war, what could SHE do to defend her Country—if she had one?
"Poor, foolish, tender, clinging, helpless little thing!
"How she babbles of 'Equality!'
"SHE—who trembles in a thunderstorm,
"And shudders at the booming of a sunset gun!
"Why shall she vote? SHE cannot fight, and kill and die, if need be, for her Country!"
Well,
It has come—HER hour!
And, with her "tender, clinging, helpless" hands,
She is making munitions—for England.
With her soft, white, useless fingers she is fashioning shells—
A hundred deaths in every one of them!
Everywhere, she is ploughing, planting, gathering,
Sowing, reaping, harvesting.
And thus saving thousands of lives
For Her Country.

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Continuing the

WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Founded 1870

By LUCY STONE *and* HENRY B. BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women, and published weekly in Boston, Mass., from 1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the

WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910

By the WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY

and the

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Headquarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, Betty Graeme, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

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171 Madison Avenue
New York

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To Whom It Concerns

¶ Adjustment of the subscriptions on the lists of our three combined suffrage journals has been made on the following basis:

¶ A paid subscription to the *Woman's Journal* (price $1.00) entitles the subscriber to as many numbers of the *Woman Citizen* as may remain due on account of the *Woman's Journal*. One year's paid subscription to the *Woman Voter* (price 50 cents) entitles the subscriber to half a year's subscription to the *Woman Citizen*. One year's paid subscription to the *National Suffrage News* (price 25 cents) entitles the subscriber to one-quarter of a year's subscription to *The Woman Citizen*. One year's paid subscriptions to all three entitles the subscriber to one and three-quarters of a year's subscription to *The Woman Citizen*.

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¶ It is the intention of the management to make *The Woman Citizen* a suffrage organ of essential value to suffragists and to the general public.

¶ Fairness to all concerned demands that the money, the time, and the talents devoted to it shall result in a better journal for the number who do pay for it, rather than be more widely circulated among those who do not pay for it.

¶ Our subscription lists are now in process of revision. Pay your dues if you wish to continue receiving the journal.

Carrie Chapman Catt

PROGRESS OF THE SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2. and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Conferring upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein): That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915; yeas 174, nays 204.

Introduced in the 65th Congress

IN THE SENATE:

April 1917 (special session), by Senators Jones of New Mexico, Shafroth of Colorado, Owen of Oklahoma, Poindexter of Washington, and Thompson of Kansas.

IN THE HOUSE:

April 1917 (special session), by Representatives Raker of California, Rankin of Montana, Keating of Colorado, Taylor of Colorado, Hayden of Arizona, and Mondell of Wyoming.

Status:

IN THE SENATE:

In the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

IN THE HOUSE:

In the Judiciary Committee.

June 6, the Rules Committee voted to report favorably, "as soon as the pending war legislation is disposed of," Representative Raker's resolution to create a woman suffrage committee in the House.

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THE BURNING QUESTION

WHAT hidden destiny lies in store for the women of Europe from a war that has overturned a monarchy, leveled a czar and enthroned the will of a people? Will it be the dethronement of divine right of the male to rule all women and the enthronement of universal adult suffrage—or will the woman's struggle for political freedom, of all the struggles for emancipation that are trying the souls of stricken Europe today, alone remain unsettled?

Who knows?

Will the Root Commission to Russia help or hinder the enfranchisement of Russian women?

Who knows?

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

June 23, 1917

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments."

Monarchy vs. Republic

WOMAN SUFFRAGE in Great Britain is moving forward at an amazing rate. The old Monarchy puts to shame our young Western Republic. Uncle Sam will have to move at a lively rate if he catches up with John Bull in the march of democracy for which our two nations are supposed to be fighting.

On May 23, after ten days of debate which was devoted mostly to the question of woman suffrage, the House of Commons passed the "Representation of the People" bill by a vote of 329 to 40. Papers just now at hand show that the bill provides that two millions of men who have never had the vote before will now be enfranchised, making the total number of male voters about ten and a half millions and of women six millions.

Before the war there were about two millions of males in excess of females. The conservatives were not quite willing to enfranchise women on the same terms as men, since it would put the election of the next Parliament in the hands of a large majority who had never voted before. The Speaker's Conference to avoid this difficulty fixed the age of women at 30 years. The woman suffrage organizations held a National Conference and agreed to enter no protest against this discrimination, lest they lose the advantage offered them. They are assured that the terms shall be made equal later on.

The bill must yet pass the third reading in the House of Commons, and it must pass the House of Lords.* It is usually understood in England that when a government bill has passed the second reading, the third is as good as taken. For centuries the House of Lords held a virtual veto power over the House of Commons, but happily that hour is past. The Lords may still be unconvinced and vote against the bill but final decision rests with the House of Commons and after having received the King's signature the bill becomes a law. The Lords may have seen the light and not delay the measure by voting against it, for one unreconstructed Anti in the Commons complained in the debate that the newspapers would no longer print anti-material—and these included the *Times* and *Telegraph*, both implacable enemies of the cause before the war. If these are true indications of the changes of view in Great Britain, the House of Lords will gracefully yield to the inevitable and promptly pass the bill.

The bill provides for absent voting in order that soldiers and nurses may not be disfranchised. It would be a sight which might appropriately tickle the humor of the Kaiser, himself, if a Red Cross nurse from the land of George the Third, "somewhere in Europe," should exercise her newly won rights and blithely say to her comrade, the Red Cross nurse from the land of George Washington: "Ah, had there been no revolution, you too would now enjoy this same privilege." History is certainly cynical.

C. C. C.

[* As we go to press, dispatches announce passage of third reading.—Ed.]

Significance of Rules Committee's Action

FOR the benefit of our readers who find it difficult to follow the reports on congressional procedure with reference to the suffrage question we recapitulate below the significance of the recent action of the Rules Committee in the matter of the appointment of a House Suffrage Committee:

The Rules Committee, by a majority vote, decided that it would bring in a favorable report to the House on the creation of a suffrage committee after pending military legislation shall have been taken care of. Note that before this committee becomes an assured fact the Rules Committee must make this report to the House and the House must adopt this report by a majority vote.

Most members of the House who are interested in suffrage say that there is no question but that the recommendation of the Rules Committee will be adopted once it reaches the floor of the House. The Rules Committee stands committed to make the recommendation when the pending military legislation shall have been disposed of.

Again Outdone by Russia

ONCE more has darkest Russia beaten to the goal-post the country at whose gate the Statue of Liberty stands guard. In the Council of Sixty-one, which is now preparing Russia's Constitution, women's interests are to be represented by a woman, Dr. Schischkina Yavein, head of the "Defenders of Women's Rights," the Russian woman suffrage association, a branch of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, of which Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt is president.

In this preparatory Council are sitting a group of constitutional specialists, deputies from the army, from the peasants, and from all political parties. But wherein Russia has set the United States an unescapable example of real democracy lies in women's recognition and representation. Never in the history of Amer-

ica have women's interests been represented by a woman in a National Constitutional Convention.

The preparatory Council, of which Dr. Yavein is a member, will deal with such immediate problems as questions of nationalities and the conditions of the transfer of the lands of the nobles to the peasantry.

Dr. Yavein is a physician. At the beginning of the war a hospital unit, supported entirely by the Russian suffragists, was formed with her at the head.

Mr. Root's Idea of a Popular Election

HON. ELIHU ROOT has made his first speech in Russia. It was a great speech, a ringing American speech. It will please America and was calculated to soothe the present turbulence of Russian thought. It could not fail to inspire the bewildered Russian leaders with renewed confidence in democratic ideals. But Mr. Root made a singular misstatement. He said that our President was elected by virtue of a popular election in which "more than 18,000,000 votes were freely cast and fairly counted by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage." These four adjectives have been the slogans of the constitutional Russian Revolutionists. Mr. Root tells them we have attained the ideal toward which they have been struggling. But in more than half our country suffrage is neither universal nor equal, and for a generation Mr. Root has exerted his tremendous political influence to continue the discrimination against millions of qualified citizens. That suffrage is universal and equal in half our country is a happy fact, established despite Mr. Root's opposing influence. M. Tereschtenko responded and said that Russia's ideals were those of the Declaration of American Independence. When Mr. Root returns and receives the plaudits of our grateful people for his services in Russia a suitable expression from the women of the country would be a copy of that Declaration with two sentences, much overworked in suffrage campaigns, underlined and accompanied by the question: "If the Declaration is good enough for Russia, why not for America?" The last we knew, Mr. Root naively remarked that he had not changed his views on woman suffrage in twenty years. The closer touch with free institutions in the making has probably jogged the inertia of his thinking into modern operation as war jogged Mr. Asquith. Being optimists we believe Mr. Root will come back to fight "with us," and no longer against us. Who would have predicted that a great American statesman would be led to consistent thinking on democracy by "darkest Russia"!

C. C. C.

Will You Help Your Country?

THE war has brought with it some perplexing problems for suffragists, as well as for men and women who have been devoting themselves to other lines of good work.

Every right-minded woman wants to help her country. In war time this feeling is intensified. There are many different ways of helping and to some women the novel methods appeal more strongly than older ways, which yet are vitally important. Suffragists are doing their share in all kinds of war relief; and some of them have become so deeply interested in it that they want to drop suffrage work until the need of war work is over. Any woman who feels bound to take this course is free to follow her own conscience; but it is an unenlightened conscience, and she is making a serious mistake.

We are seeking the suffrage, primarily, because we believe that it will be a real benefit to our country, a strong addition to its assets. This is true both in time of war and in time of peace; but in war-time the need of equal suffrage is doubled. The ballot is not a luxury nor an ornament, that we want for selfish reasons. It is a tool; and, in war even more than in peace, it is important to every country to have its citizens equipped with the best and most up-to-date tools.

Even during peace the problems of modern civilization have become so many and so complicated that we need to have the largest possible number of intelligent minds brought to bear upon them for their solution—the minds of women as well as men. But in war-time these problems are multiplied and intensified; and special dangers threaten the country along just the lines where the woman's vote might be expected to prove a safeguard.

For instance, if Englishwomen had had the franchise before the war, England would have been spared the costly and tragic mistake of letting women work in the munitions factories for twelve and fourteen hours a day seven days in the week—a practice which has now been stopped, in the interest, not so much of the workers as of the output, because experience proved that women who were chronically fagged could not turn out as large a quantity of munitions as they could with shorter hours and reasonable rest. The women's organizations had warned British statesmen in advance what would happen if the women workers were driven so hard. If they had had votes, their voices would have been heard with more respect. Many States of the Union, despite the protests of the women's organizations in America, now stand on the verge of plunging into the same disastrous error. In the words of Benjamin Franklin, "Experience keeps a dear school; but fools will learn in no other."

This is only one instance out of a thousand where women equipped with the up-to-date tool of the ballot could make their country more efficient, in war or peace.

Let no woman fancy that she is working for her country only when she is making bandages, and not when she is trying to put through the suffrage amendment. Making bandages is a good work, but bandages are not the only thing that the country needs. And, since even a feather-headed woman can see the need of bandages, those are sure to be furnished; but if the women who see the deeper need of the ballot do not look out for it, but devote themselves wholly to bandages, the deeper need will not be met. "This ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone."

In Canada there was a sharp division of opinion among the suffragists as to whether they should drop all suffrage work for war work; but today there is only one opinion among them as to the wisdom of the decision to carry on both at once. Now that the ballot is actually won, even those who had urged a temporary dropping of all efforts for it admit that they were wrong and say they are thankful that the others went ahead and got it.

It is only a minority of our suffragists, fortunately, who have

conceived the mistaken idea that they ought to drop suffrage work till the war is over. But as few as possible should be allowed to fall under that delusion. Wisdom has been defined as the power to "see the large things large and the small things small." Let no one forget that equal suffrage will give an immense stimulus to women's sense of responsibility, and will open to the country's service a vast reservoir of power not yet half utilized—a power that can be drawn upon in countless ways for the public welfare. It will do more to lessen human suffering than many bandages. The greater includes the less, and one of the good things that equal suffrage will bring with it will be a tenderer care for the wounded, and more ample provision for their comfort. And this applies not only to those wounded in war, but to those wounded in all sorts of ways by the maladjustments of our still incomplete civilization. A. S. B.

Another North Dakota Victory

THE complete collapse of the anti-suffragists in North Dakota is both amusing and delightful.

That State has the initiative and referendum, and when this year's Legislature gave women presidential and municipal suffrage, the reactionaries declared that they would invoke the referendum and have the new law annulled.

When a constitutional amendment for equal suffrage was submitted to the voters of North Dakota in 1914, the vote stood: Yes, 40,011; No, or blank, 49,410. In that election any voter who failed to mark his ballot either for or against an amendment was counted as voting against it. The No votes and blank votes were not counted separately; but opponents of equal rights here in the East have been in the habit of claiming the whole 49,410 as opposed. If they were they have evidently undergone a remarkable change of heart. Less than 11,000 signatures were needed to the petition that was circulated this year for a referendum to repeal presidential and municipal woman suffrage, but the opponents were unable to get anything like that number, and the whole attempt has proved a fizzle.

This recalls the fact that in California an effort was made in 1912 by initiative petition to repeal equal suffrage. Both men and women were eligible to sign and there were about 1,500,000 men and women of voting age in the State; yet the opponents failed to get the 32,000 signatures needed to resubmit the question. One year's experience of the practical results of equal suffrage had allayed almost all the previous hostility to it.

A. S. B.

Coloring the News

NEWS dispatches are often given a coloring unfavorable to woman suffrage, when the real facts are quite otherwise. A glaring case in point is the form in which the recent action of the Swedish Parliament was cabled to this country.

The woman suffrage bill passed the lower house by an overwhelming majority. There was not even a division upon it. In the non-representative upper house it was defeated again, as it has been in former years; but this time even in the upper house, and even with the Conservative party in power in Sweden, it came so near passing that a change of only a few votes would have given it a majority. Yet the press dispatches said that the only bit of encouragement for the suffragists in the situation was that a former prominent opponent declared himself a convert.

In America this year the Legislatures of eight States and the Parliament of Ontario gave women the ballot, and in each case our opponents of equal rights denounced it as an outrage on democracy because the action was taken by the Legislature and not by the voters. But not one of them will call it an outrage on democracy when the will of the popular branch of Parliament in Sweden is overridden by the non-representative upper chamber. It makes all the difference whose ox is gored. A. S. B.

Tribute to Woman's Humanitarianism

So eloquent was the appeal of an Omaha woman, Mrs. O. C. Redick, in behalf of the Red Cross before the Nebraska Commercial Clubs that, immediately following her speech, that body passed a resolution favoring woman suffrage. In presenting the motion, W. F. Adamek, of Clarkson, said: "I have always opposed woman suffrage but when a lady speaks as Mrs. Redick has for the Red Cross it so impresses me that I feel that women should have suffrage and I move this association go on record in favor of it." The motion was overwhelmingly carried although the organization numbered many members formerly opposed to suffrage. Until she became engaged in foreign relief and Red Cross work, Mrs. Redick, who is chairman of the Douglass County hospital supply section, had never been identified with public affairs. Surprised at the sequel, Mrs. Redick said her address would have been the same had she foreseen the reaction to suffrage from it.

A Rank Injustice

IN a speech before the House, Representative Robert Y. Thomas, Jr., of Kentucky, voiced the efforts of the National American Woman Suffrage Association to secure equal opportunities for women to serve their Government in time of war, and get equal pay for equal work. Representative Thomas said: "Two-thirds of the employees in the civil service could enlist in the army and their services not be missed. Women who need the work could be employed to fill their places and would fill them as well or better than men. This is notably true in the stenographic and typewriting department. And yet the Government holds examinations for this service to which the women are not admitted. This is a rank injustice. Women are usually more industrious, more faithful, more competent, more truthful, and more dependable than men, and should at least be given an equal opportunity in all examinations."

The British Government has promised facilities to a deputation from the Women's Social and Political Union, headed by Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, the militant suffragist, to proceed to Russia to explain their views on the war.

America has become a Mecca for visiting commissions since the entrance of this country into the Great War. French, English, Italian have come and gone. The latest pilgrims hail from Russia. It is worthy of remark that the Russian is the only one of the commissions to include women in its ranks.

The Sense in Census

By Betty Graeme

MRS. WM. I. BELLNAP,
In charge of the suffrage registration forces in Westchester.

"AND I learned about women from them," is what the men of the State are saying about the New York State Woman Suffrage Party since the military census came along and upset moss-grown concepts of women's energies and abilities. And they are saying it with a degree of surprise that is as flattering as it is funny. If ever women made a sweepstakes record the suffragists did when they set in motion all the well-oiled, ball-bearing machinery of their great organization and called upon men to witness the result of training and team work.

When Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw first went to Albany to offer the services of the Party in the taking of the census she received that condescension shown little girls who clamor to aid their big brothers on a "man-size" job. Governor Whitman and the county chairmen of Home Defense Committees, called together to discuss the work, were polite but unimpressed. One man even went so far as to say that he "feared the women would quarrel among themselves." To five hundred Nassau county suffragists at a recent luncheon that man, Mr. Frank L. Crocker, who is possessed of a sense of humor as well as a sense of justice, told of his conversion.

"When Mrs. Frederick S. Greene, of Sands Point, offered the aid of the Nassau County Suffrage Association for this patriotic work," said Mr. Crocker, who is chairman of the Home Defense Committee of that county, "I told her I had discussed it with several prominent men and we were impressed with the magnitude of the undertaking. There were at least sixty thousand persons to be registered and each blank would take twenty minutes to fill out. We had decided to proceed by electoral districts. As soon as possible I would have a list of the seventy-two districts and would put a responsible person in charge. To my surprise, from her portfolio, Mrs. Greene produced the complete list with the number of voters enrolled, and the names of suffragists in each district and their captains. In my ignorance I asked how many she could depend on. 'Every one,' was her emphatic reply. 'I have cut out all the dead wood in the last year and these represent the most active and responsible women in the county.'

MISS MARY GARRETT HAY,
Commander-in-chief of the combined forces of Greater New York.

"I told Mrs. Greene I should need ten supervisors. She responded with the names of ten vice-leaders representing every part of the county. I then said that I thought it would be wise to have for each supervisor a map showing the electoral districts and that I would see if such a map could be obtained. Without more ado Mrs. Greene took from her portfolio the map. In the face of such complete preparedness I capitulated and placed the entire work in the hands of the suffragists. I want to say that I believe not another such perfect organization, either of men or of women, exists in any county of any State in the Union. When a well-known financier said to me the other day that woman suffrage was inevitable and men might as well resign themselves to it, I replied that it couldn't come too soon to suit me. I don't know what would have happened to the Nassau county census if it hadn't been for suffrage organization and vim."

On June 13, two days after the work started, Mr. Crocker wired G. G. Henry, director of military census at Albany: "Expect complete Nassau county returns this week. Few mistakes and little disorder, thanks to the efficiency of the Woman Suffrage Party in charge."

Wherever suffragists were given full sway this eulogy was repeated. As suffragists were first to come under the wire with complete returns, so was a suffragist the first to report progress, Dr. Grace Kimball, of Duchess county, making the first report on the first day's work.

In every county the Party volunteered and in every county their help was accepted. In two, Nassau and Westchester, the census was turned over entirely to the suffrage organizations. The work was done by a house-to-house canvass in Westchester, despite difficulties presented by a rural population of three hundred thousand scattered throughout the country. In Essex, Mrs. Katherine N. Notman gave the calm assurance that the Woman Suffrage Party would be able to "meet any demands made upon it." Even in the midst of their own arduous political campaign, no patriotic labor has proved too great for suffragists to assume.

MRS. FREDERICK S. GREENE,
Who put Nassau County on the registration map.

The Sense in Census

"It is because of our splendid organization that we were able to meet the demands of the occasion," said Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman of the New York City Party, and the Joffre of the city census campaign, under whose able direction the work has progressed without a hitch. "The Bureau of Municipal Research, in charge of the census for Greater New York, accepted our proffer of assistance with perceptible reluctance. Since it has come to know that ours was no idle offer of amateur first aid, but the loan of an eight-cylinder machine whose coordinated parts move without friction and make for speed and efficiency, the Bureau has modified its earlier impression. In Mrs. F. Louis Slade, chairman of the War Service committee of the City Party, Mr. Ernest Goodrich, of the Municipal Bureau, has found a valuable assistant and one whose suggestions have invariably been adopted. Under Mrs. Slade's supervision comes all the census work done by women's organizations. It has been a big piece of work and I am proud of the way our people have handled it. In not a single instance have they failed. Indeed, we were requested to take charge of an assembly district in Queens where another woman's organization had fallen down lamentably. The military registration is similar to political registration with which suffragists are familiar. Trained in 'watchers' schools' and accustomed to campaign work they knew how to take hold. Except in Bronx Borough, where they worked in conjunction with the Bureau instead of independently as in the other boroughs, there was none of the confusion and delay due to the shortage of supplies which retarded the work in so many places. In Richmond, where they were in complete charge, in Queens, and in the two hundred and thirty-two assembly districts of Manhattan the suffragists had attended to the matter themselves. Our motto is 'Make Good' and I feel that we have done it."

MRS. CHARLES L. TIFFANY,
An effective registration worker.

The great thing that the census work has accomplished is not to be found in written records but in the hearts of those who have been brought into a closer relationship with humanity; in the development of new sympathies and a broader understanding of that very popular word democracy. Women of wealth have insisted upon going down into the crowded districts and have refused to be assigned to

MRS. JOHN HUMPHREY WATKINS,
Chairman of Manhattan Borough. In charge of her borough's registration campaign.

kid-glove booths. They have discovered that it is good to know the other half better. And the submerged tenth have been quick to respond. Strange confidences have been given and many comforting words carried away.

"It has been the most wonderful experience," said Mrs. John Humphrey Watkins, chairman of Manhattan borough. "I have never known women to be so enthusiastic about anything. The party leaders weren't satisfied to sit in the office and direct. They wanted to go right down and get in the game. It is the first patriotic work women have been called on to perform and they have found out how many real people there are in the world. This war is shaking down our viewpoint and giving democracy a new meaning and life new responsibilities."

"It made me feel, somehow, that women are drawing closer together," said Miss Esther Ogden, of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. "The foreign-born women showed renewed confidence when they found other women in charge; women who took the

MISS ETHEL STEBBINS,
Leader of the Twenty-fifth Assembly District of Manhattan.

time and trouble to explain many things they failed to grasp. And it has taught all the women a great deal about themselves and the world in which they live."

Senseless Census

Against the banner record of the suffragists, certain muddled aspects of the work, done under the direction of the Bureau of Municipal Research, loomed large. Instead of registration by precincts, as urged by the suffragists who "sublet" about one-fourth of the work, registration according to whim was permitted. As a result, one out of every three registration places was closed on the third day. With all the chivalry in the world, Mr. E. P. Goodrich, local director of the census, seems to have laid the blame of the confusion upon women. He was quoted as saying that it had been to accommodate women and enable them to conceal secrets of age and domestic relationships that registration just anywhere and everywhere in the city was allowed.

"That is the freshest thing I ever heard," said Miss Camilla Morgan, youngest of all suffrage district leaders and not yet encumbered with that patience that falls to the solemner lot of the older women. "The idea of men blaming their failure on women not wanting to tell how old they were," said Miss Camilla. "Not a woman objected. The only objectors were men, who were afraid of the draft."

On the following day Mr. Goodrich retracted. He said that he wished to thank the women volunteer workers who had shown not only intelligence but enthusiasm and capacity for the work. The director did not say just what he had intended to convey, and Miss Camilla's strictures seem to stand.

Suffrage Committee in the House

ALTHOUGH the legislative program agreed upon by the Administration and both houses of Congress for the special session excludes all measures not directly necessary to the conduct of the war, it is thought that either House may, without violation of this agreement, take up questions affecting its own organization. Consequently, while only limited progress can be made with the federal amendment itself, it is not out of order for the House to consider the establishment of a committee on woman suffrage. Such a committee is a part of the House machinery, to be considered first by the Rules Committee and then, if reported, to be voted upon by the House. The creation of a House committee, in other words, is not a piece of legislation. Therefore the necessary action does not conflict with the administration's program.

It was to make this point clear that the President, at Mrs. Catt's request, wrote not long ago to Chairman Pou of the Rules Committee, stating that to create a suffrage committee at this time would be, in his opinion, "a wise move of public policy."

Friendly Attitude of House Leaders

In view of these facts, the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association has been and is utilizing the present period of enforced delay on the federal amendment to perfect the machinery by which to consider the amendment as soon as that is possible. We obtained, some weeks ago, the endorsement of the Speaker of the House for the proposition of a suffrage committee. We ascertained that Chairman Pou of the Rules Committee was friendly to the idea. We cooperated with a volunteer committee of members of the House, composed of the six members, of both parties, who had introduced the amendment, to secure a petition to the Rules Committee signed by members from suffrage states. And we obtained a hearing on the question before the Rules Committee. Last week the Rules Committee voted on the question, and decided to bring in a favorable report to the House "as soon as the pending war legislation is disposed of."

The Congressional Committee is therefore busy at present trying to measure and consolidate the friendly sentiment in the House, to be ready for the vote when it comes, for if we obtain this committee, we believe we can bring the amendment itself to a vote at the right time and under the most favorable conditions.

Non-Partisanship Necessary

The non-partisan character of the move for a suffrage committee is another prime factor in our hopes for its success. Our experience a week ago, when attempt was made from the Republican side to put the amendment on the calendar, and Democratic leaders vied with the Republicans for the initiative in action, illustrated as never before the danger of allowing our question to become the football of party rivalry. It gives a sense of safety, therefore, to realize that members of both parties are signers of the petition calling for the suffrage committee, and that the Rules Committee recommendation for appointment of a suffrage committee was made equally by Democrats and Republicans. It is evident also that to have the amendmet in the hands of a committee whose sole purpose is to consider it will be a protection against untimely action or the results of party rivalry in future.

Assistance from State Leaders

For the heavy work required at present in Washington, the Congressional Committee has been fortunate in having the assistance temporarily of Mrs. C. W. McClure, of Michigan, Mrs. William Severin and Mrs. G. D. Palmer of Illinois, Mrs. Emily McDougald and Mrs. Elliott Cheatham of Georgia, Mrs. Chappell Corey of Alabama, and Mrs. Ellis A. Yost of West Virginia. Mrs. Severin, who is president of the Republican Women's Association of Illinois, brought with her a message from the president of the Illinois Democratic Women's League, Mrs. Joanna Downs, that the voting women of Illinois, of both parties, are united in the demand for national woman suffrage and, as an immediate step thereto, the creation of a woman suffrage committee in the House.

Who's Who Among Our Friends in Congress

The New Senator from Oregon

While Mrs. Catt was in Oregon on her recent trip through the West, Governor Withycombe told her that in naming the successor to the late Senator Lane he had made two specifications—namely, the appointee should support the federal woman suffrage amendment and national prohibition. The new Senator, Charles L. McNary, of Salem, Oregon, qualifies in both these respects, and announced these two planks in his platform as soon as he was appointed.

Senator McNary was sworn into office last Friday, June 8. He is a Republican, forty-three years old, and was chairman of the Republican State Committee during the last presidential campaign, but otherwise has never held political office until now. In partnership with his brother he has practiced law in Salem for twenty years, and was appointed Judge of the State Supreme Court before he was forty—an appointment which, by the way, was made by a Democratic Governor at the request of a leading Republican member of the Legislature.

As the son of an Oregon pioneer, and born in

SENATOR McNARY

Salem, Senator McNary says he doesn't know how to think otherwise than in terms of equality for women and men. "It always seemed to me that my mother had the same stake in the Government that my father had," he explains. "And now that we have adopted out in Oregon a constitutional amendment granting equal suffrage to women I feel that I have, in addition to my convictions on the subject, the obligation to reflect the sentiment of my State. If the people of my State believe that equal suffrage is a good principle of government for Oregon they must believe it is an equally good principle for the rest of the States. That is what they do believe, and I believe it, too.

"As to the practical working of woman suffrage," continued the Senator, "I think it is pretty hard to stampede women. I find in Oregon that they are independent, thoughtful voters, who have their own opinions and do not yield to their husbands or any other influences. This is particularly true of questions having a moral aspect. Give women the vote and you put the saloon and the bawdy house out of business—that is what they did in Oregon."

Senator Lane was a Democrat. The appointment of Senator McNary, a Republican, in his place, reduces the Democratic majority to ten. There are now 53 Democrats, 42 Republicans, and 1 "Republican Progressive" in the Senate.

In Rumania

In the forward march of democracy in Europe it will be interesting to see whether the shadow of old Turkey or that of new Russia falls athwart the path of Rumanian women. According to the announcement to the Chamber of Deputies made by Premier Brantiano, the Government requests Parliament to insert into the Rumanian constitution the principles of "universal" suffrage. As Russia construes the word, prior, at least, to the entrance of Mr. Root upon the scene of Russian democracy, "universal suffrage" means just what it says, and includes adult women as well as adult men.

Where Suffrage Is Imminent

Indiana Women Active

UNDER the leadership of its new president, Mrs. R. E. Edwards, the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana is in the midst of an active campaign in behalf of the right kind of state constitution, especially as regards suffrage. Leaflets are being sent broadcast from the League headquarters in Indianapolis calling attention to the approaching constitutional convention, the importance of voting for the right kind of delegates to that convention, precisely how and when and where registration must be made, etc. One of the leaflets contains a valuable quiz designed to make women think and study about the whole subject of the ballot and its meaning. The precise scope of the "Nine-tenths Suffrage Law" is set forth, and many sidelights are thrown on the situation in Indiana.

Dr. Effie McCollum Jones has been sent to Indiana by the National American Woman Suffrage Association to help in the campaign, and is making stirring speeches in the southern part of the State, emphasizing the peculiar timeliness of the suffrage appeal in view of the great war, which is destined to enfranchise women in all the warring countries, the peculiar advantage Indiana women now have in being permitted not only to vote for delegates to their Constitutional Convention, but also to vote on the adoption of the Constitution later, and giving all the latest points in suffrage propaganda. Dr. Jones attended the June Board meeting on the 4th, and attended the beautiful luncheon given to the members at the home of Dr. Amelia R. Keller former president of the League. She will be in the State till about July 22.

About the middle of June the National Association is to send another helper to us in the person of Mrs. Augusta Hughston who will be conducted by Miss Ada Bush on an organization tour of the northern part of the State, beginning in the Tenth Congressional district. In connection with the campaign that is being led by these women, one hundred copies of the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the *Woman Citizen*, have been ordered sent to headquarters each week for distribution in the towns where meetings are held, and thus it is hoped to effect suffrage propaganda and at the same time to secure new subscribers for the paper.

Thirty-six new leagues formed between April 1st and June 1st under the lead of Miss Helen Benbridge, chairman of the organization committee.

Mrs. Julia C. Henderson, former secretary of the State League, by her enterprise in securing advertisements in connection with the annual convention programs was able to turn over to the treasurer $198.75.

A suit has been filed against the constitutionality of the Constitution law, and the Woman's Franchise League has been fortunate in securing the legal services of State Senator Abram Simmons of Bluffton to represent its interests in the suit. The firm of Stuart, Hammond and Stuart of Lafayette will act as advisory counsel.

The following clause has been recommended by the Board to define the electorate in the new constitution:

"In all elections every citizen of the United States of the age of 21 years and upwards who shall have resided in the State six months, and in the township sixty days, and in the ward or precinct thirty days," (or such period of time as the convention may determine), "immediately preceding such election, shall be entitled to vote in the township or precinct where such citizen may reside, if such citizen shall have been duly registered according to law."

In Maine

MRS. DEBORAH LIVINGSTON,
Campaign Manager of the Maine Suffrage Campaign. Maine women expect to win the franchise in September.

Assaulting an Ohio Institution

A spade seems to be no less a spade because of the hilarity with which the Portsmouth Daily *Times*, of Portsmouth, Ohio, calls it "James Barber."

Writing editorially the *Times* says:

"Well, well, well! And here come the militant leaders of the local woman's suffrage party with a most dastardly attack upon one of the institutions of politics in Portsmouth. They have had the audacity, aye that is the word, audacity, to cast doubt and suspicion upon the patriotic disinterestedness and purity of motive of the Honorable James Barber in circulating petitions in favor of a referendum upon the legislative enactment that gave women the right to vote in Ohio at presidential elections.

"James says, on the petitions, that he circulated them for love and not for filthy lucre. The suffrage leaders seem to doubt this, for they loudly call upon the board of elections to bring said James Barber before it forthwith and judicially determine whether or not he received pay for his work. And furthermore they declare that they cannot discover many dozens of persons whom James averred signed his papers as true and lawful voters, and upon this point they seek further enlightenment from James. Now, can you beat that? The very idea of a squad of suffragettes calling into question the activities of the premier exponent of Portsmouth backstairs politics for the last generation! Why, it is enough to make old Doc Coggswell leap from the junk pile back onto his pedestal on Gallia square.

"For more than thirty years parties and politicians have waxed and waned in Portsmouth, but the Honorable James Barber has gone on and on . . . always bobbing up with enough claim on the winner to be given consideration, no matter who that winner might be. You just couldn't lose Jim. What he did and how he did it, if he did it at all, was never questioned. It was taken for granted in a vague, indefinite sort of way that James was "a power," that he could swing mythical elusive votes, that he was a man to court and consult. By playing 'em all safely James never got into the limelight, never was attacked, nor was he ignored. That is up until he tackled the suffragettes. There his habitual caution seems to have deserted James, and he left no loophole. Be butted into the fray and now the suffragettes are butting him. They're out to bust him all over the lot, and they say that when they are through with him there'll not be enough of his political prestige left to wad a shotgun.

"Alas, poor James. We drop a tear or two in commiseration with you. We wonder with you what the deuce politics is a comin' to if a parcel o' women are to insist upon a fellow sticking to the straight and narrow path of righteousness in his political goings and comings and demand an affidavit every time one turns around or signs his own or someone else's name to a paper to oblige a friend.

"Yes, we are bewildered with you, James. We indignate with you. And when you go before the board of elections to battle with the Suffs, we will be with you in spirit, James. As you stand out for the old order, we'll be shouting to you, 'Sick 'em, Jim!' But may the Lord help you to save your bacon, for we cannot—nor no other man.

"The old order passeth, James. The new is upon us."

[Ohio suffragists are now in possession of enough evidence to show a straight line of connection between professional anti-suffragists and the liquor interests. Some of it will be adduced in forthcoming numbers of the *Woman Citizen*.—Ed.]

Municipal Suffrage Survey

"The fallacy of the elsewhere" doesn't dominate the male mind in his attitude toward woman suffrage. The nearer a man sees the vote for women, the better he seems to like it. He may picture his wife as hurled from her pedestal if she votes for President, but he knows perfectly well she can safely vote for the coroner if he walks beside her and tells her how.

Perhaps this is one reason why municipal suffrage is the entering wedge of women's enfranchisement in every country. Besides this, war itself does something to man's visions of democracy—it sharpens them. The humblest soldier looms larger in his eyes than when the same man sold him coal or sausages. Behind the soldier he also sees the heroic soldier's wife—or, perhaps, his widow.

That the Dead May Vote

The soldier's wife has been calling attention to the need for woman suffrage ever since the war began—not, at first, visualized as her own right, but in order that absent, or even dead, the soldier might still have a voice in his home government.

Following this ghostly visitant, the conviction that the soldier's wife, and if the soldier's wife, other wives, need representation for themselves has begun to clamor for acceptance. This seems to be the simple psychological process by virtue of which the small coin of suffrage has come showering down upon women in every country for the last eighteen months.

Before the Russian revolution was sprung, municipal suffrage for women had been knocking loudly at the door of the Duma. And the door was opening to it; for the Duma committee on municipal affairs had voted in favor of a proposal that women should be eligible for seats on its district councils. The Council of the Zemstvo of Jaroslav had demanded even more strongly, both "as a measure of justice and for the good of the country," that women should have their full share in the control and administration of local affairs. On February 23, a woman alderman, the first woman in Russia ever to be elected to a public office, was elected in Poltavam, the capital city of Poltava.

At the present moment French statesmen have begun, for the first time in history, to envisage the woman as an unrepresented unit of society. In many of the French communes male voters have all but disappeared. They have been killed or have died of the war's blighting hardships. Only women are left in many places, and in others not only has the quantity but the quality of the voting force failed, the least desirable men being the only electorate left. French politicians now recognize that these municipalities must be represented by a local electorate of some kind, and must also be staffed with local mayors, councillors and petty officials.

* Women in Petrograd voted for the first time in municipal elections on June 13.

The curious situation exists in some few communes that only enough men are left to vote themselves into office. It is for this reason, according to M. Pierre Etienne Flandin, Deputy from the Yonne to the French Chamber, that his present bill for municipal suffrage and municipal eligibility for French women over 30 years of age, stands a good show for prompt passage. M. Flandin is the sponsor for this bill, which has already been favorably voted on by the committee on universal suffrage in the French Chamber of Deputies. He believes that, after it is passed, full suffrage for women will follow.

"Let women try themselves out by electing mayors, and voting on street railway franchises," say the Frenchmen. "Let us see how they will react towards the water and light problem and city bonding before we give them a voice in electing a state commissioner."

Italy is also now prepared to say that women should vote at municipal elections. Signor Boselli, premier of Italy, somewhat timidly voices this idea of trying suffrage out by letting Italian women cut their teeth, as it were, on municipal problems.

Also in America

In the United States, municipal suffrage, among other forms of the partial enfranchisement of women, has assumed prominence in legislative action this year. North Dakota, Indiana, Nebraska, and Vermont have given women municipal suffrage since January 1st, the first three states as part of a more comprehensive measure that includes the presidential vote.

On March 21st of this year the Vermont Legislature passed a bill to give women the right to vote in town meetings. Town, however, is an elastic term, which includes village and city meetings. Neither is an elaborate clause defining those eligible to vote as "tax payers whose taxes are paid up" as prohibitive as it sounds. Its bark is worse than its bite. Any woman who has already paid her taxes is a legal voter. Under the law there is no provision for a poll tax.

The full text of the law shows that women allowed to vote at municipal elections are more numerous than the phrase indicates, for any woman with even one dollar of her own may make application to have this listed as liable for taxation. By paying her few cents of yearly assessment, she may become "a tax-paying woman" eligible to vote for all city and town officers, and on all matters that come before town meetings, including the license issue.

Women Take Freeman's Oath

Under the school law, Vermont women will now have "the same rights as men." They will be obliged to take the freeman's oath in order to vote in school meetings, although, oddly enough, this is not required of them for their vote in town meetings. The Vermont Equal Suffrage Association is urging its members to go immediately before the board of civil authority, and take the freeman's oath, "at this critical period of the nation's history, an act of patriotism."

* M. René Viviani on June 10th said, "It is the duty of the men of the present generation to give women the vote."

Ohio's Victories

But of all the States, Ohio has gained the most signal victory for municipal woman suffrage. Ohio women are getting their vote by inches, and by the sweat of their brows, but they are getting it. This year they have won two victories, the presidential vote and the Supreme Court's decision that East Cleveland's bestowal of the municipal franchise upon women was constitutional.

Columbus is the first home rule charter city to make a move toward full municipal suffrage for women since the Supreme Court's decision, and strong support is expected.

A resolution providing for an amendment to the city charter to grant equal suffrage to Toledo women was approved by the Council of that city in April. If the council passes it, the people must then vote on it. Councillor Mulholland, who introduced the resolution, said: "Russia, Australia, and China have granted woman suffrage. Why shouldn't we?"

In Other States

Indiana women have now a large measure of franchise. Their bill, which was called a "seven-eighths" full-suffrage bill when they first got it, is now styled by well-versed Indianians a "nine-tenths" suffrage measure.

A little town in Tennessee on top of Lookout Mountain gained this year the dignity of municipal suffrage, the bill receiving the signature of Governor T. C. Rye.

Women in Atlanta, Georgia, are waging a strong campaign for the municipal vote, the town of Waycross having already achieved this form of political equality.

Municipal suffrage bills were also favorably reported out of committee this year in the Legislatures of North Carolina and Virginia.

Philadelphia suffragists, supported by the head of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage numbering 15,000 members, have asked that municipal suffrage for women may be included in the revision of the city charter.

Arkansas women have gained municipal as well as presidential suffrage.

Municipal suffrage is falling upon Florida like large spattering drops of rain before a coming shower. In 1915 the little town of Fellsmere, in St. Lucia County, on the Eastern shore, put an equal suffrage clause into its municipal charter. Since then the contagion has spread along the East Coast. Cocoa, Aurantia, Orange City, West Palm Beach and Deland, besides Dr. Anna Howard Shaw's wintering town of Florence Villa, in the middle of the State, have given women municipal voting rights.

THE WILLIAMS PRINTING COMPANY, NEW YORK

Around the "National's" Press Table

Notes from the Field

By Rose Lawless Geyer, Chairman of Field Press Work

A "SUFFRAGE CLINIC" marks the high tide of suffrage activities in Maryland this month. This clinic was called for one purpose—to study the cure for the unenfranchised condition of the women of Maryland. It was especially urged that women from all counties, in particular those not fully organized, attend the clinic, which took the place of the state convention. The clinic served as a direct stimulus to organization for work on a federal amendment. A Mother Goose Party and intensified potato farming are matters of interest in the Maryland press service.

* * *

The editor of the Los Angeles *Times*, speaking of suffrage in California, says: "Its principal value is in the added sense of civic usefulness and appreciation that it gives to women."

* * *

Twenty-seven canning clubs are in session this month in Nebraska under the supervision of the University Extension work. The *Suffrage Messenger*, the state paper of Nebraska, devoted this month's issue to the work of the thrift campaign, directions for organization, clubs, directions for preserving and canning, etc.

* * *

Massachusetts suffragists have had their attention called to the little economies they can practice and among them is this bit: "Banana skins may be used to shine up tan shoes before the skins are thrown in the garbage can."

* * *

The reports of the retiring officers of the Birmingham, Alabama, Equal Suffrage Association showed a most active year and a notable increase in membership.

* * *

In order to become proficient in the work of food production and conservation the members of the Central War Service Committee of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association is attending the State Agricultural College. The course lasts a week and is given throughout June. Some of the leagues have sent one member to take the course that she may return and instruct the other members of the league.

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Mrs. Mary Goddard of Durham, Maine, the oldest woman minister in the United States, is a staunch believer in Equal Suffrage. "Aunt Mary," as she is affectionately called, was 107 years old in March. She is a member of the Society of Friends.

TEXAS pledged itself to raise a $30,000 state organization fund at its state convention. The state association proposes no longer to trust to an indefinite, haphazard way of doing business, but to put the state work on a firm business basis, and to that end the state budget was decided upon. It will be divided as follows: Headquarters expenses, $4,000; field work, $12,000; press department, literature, speakers and dues to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, $14,000.

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"Miss George Washington" is the title of a photodrama put on by the Woman's Suffrage Club of Washingtonville, N. Y.

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The first woman flagman in Albany, Ind., Miss Marie Travers, is now to be found at her post at the crossing of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway.

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A Parcel Post Mystery Sale is being used as a means to a financial end by the Maine suffragists.

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The South Carolina State Federation of Women's clubs gave strong endorsement to equal suffrage at their recent state convention. On May 5 the New Jersey State Federated clubs endorsed equal suffrage by a vote of 282 to 46. This brings the number of state federations of women's clubs that have endorsed suffrage up to 37. The General Federation endorsed equal suffrage in 1914.

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This month the women of Indiana register as voters for delegates to the constitutional convention. The election comes in September.

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Milwaukee suffragists are credited with bringing out the unprecedented number of voters at the recent school election in that city. The suffragists instituted neighborhood meetings at which candidates for school director were the speakers. Thousands of leaflets, explaining the civic duties of mothers and their special duty in matters pertaining to their children's education, were distributed.

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A well known Ohio suffragist who is noted for her humor was the speaker one night at a suffrage gathering held in the village church. The pastor introduced the speaker by saying, "It is not customary to applaud or laugh in this house of worship, but tonight you may. God will forgive you for laughing at Mrs. ——."

THE ancient shibboleth, "Woman's place is in the home," is being sadly shattered, say the Michigan suffragists.

The Secretary of the Navy asks for women naval recruits.

The Secretary of Agriculture asks for women reapers and sowers.

The Secretary of the Treasury asked the women to seek buyers for Liberty Bonds.

The Secretary of War, in a letter to Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, appealed to the women of the country to join in the celebration to make registration day a memorable occasion.

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The Woman's Emergency League of The Illinois Equal Suffrage Association has not only been developed along the line of a military system but the officers have taken their titles from the military. Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, as executive chairman, has the assistance of an executive adjutant, field marshals, and field adjutants. More than 60,000 members are said to be enrolled in this emergency body. The first emergency to which the league will devote its attention is along the line of home defense, safeguarding the new constitution. The second emergency is the National Red Cross work.

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A program for the conservation of women in industry is being consistently and systematically worked out by the Woman Suffrage League of Maryland. Each county has a chairman appointed and all together form a central committee pledged to do all possible to safeguard the health, the working hours and the conditions under which the women of Maryland will work in the various industries.

Maryland employs many women in its canneries and this industry will soon be in its busiest season. The conservation of food is of such paramount importance just now that industries which deal with canning and the preservation of the food will take front rank.

Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, first vice-president of the "National" and head of the thrift campaign, spoke in Maryland and aroused much enthusiasm for the thrift and economy campaign, starting things off in fine shape.

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In keeping with the war-time economy spirit, the Nebraska suffragists held to a simple menu without any frills when entertaining the senators and representatives of that state at luncheon. Nebraska women are trying to stimulate this season's preserving and canning 100 per cent. in their state.